1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

values and forms of organization in the conquerors.[20] Moreover, since the Mongol conquest of China in 1279, the country has been almost continuously united until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Taiping Rebellion opened the way for an upsurge of provincial autonomy.

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. Political and Social Upheaval

The last hundred years of China's history have been marked by great social and political upheaval. The shape these movements took can be almost wholly attributed to the impact of the modern West. Beginning in the nineteenth century, economic and military penetration made wide inroads into the economy and political control of China. Along with this intrusion came new religious and secular ideas that worked to undermine Chinese loyalty toward

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20. Eberhard, A History of China, pp. 178-79, makes much of the differences that grew between North and South during the first period of division. In his Conquerors and Rulers, pp. 65-121, however, Eberhard demonstrates the persistance of the Chinese culture and political administration in the North under alien rule. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Cambridge, England, The Unversity Press, 1954, Vol. I, page 119, minimizes the difference that grew out of the period of division.

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the traditional political and social system. 177

But the causes of upheaval are not wholly attributable to the western impact. It coincided with a phenomenon which had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder. 178

The internal and external forces for change were most acutely present in the Central-South Region. Kwangtung provided the top leadership and a great part of the manpower for the Taiping Rebellion, the Reform of 1898, and the revolutions of 1911 and 1923-27. The Communist movement drew its leaders primarily from Mao Tse-tung's home province of Hunan, and to a lesser extent from Hupeh.[21] Kwangsi and Kiangsi provided terrain favorable to the growth of illegal movements spawned in the neighboring provinces to the north and south. Significantly, Honan, at the center of traditional Chinese civilization, made little contribution to any of these movements.

B. The Key Role of Kwangtung

The prominent position of Kwangtung in the

21. R. C. North, Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 65-71.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

first seventy-five years of this period of turbulence stemmed from the unique experience of the province in relation to the ruling Ch'ing Dynasty and to the outside world. Secret societies kept alive bitter memories of ruthless persecution in the early years of the Ch'ing Dynasty and schemes for restoring the previous Ming Dynasty. A small but significant part of the province's coastal population had long filled the atypical and despised role of businessman for the nation. From Kwangtung had also come the great majority of Chinese overseas migration. These emigrants sent letters home from Southeast Asia, the Americas, Australia, and Hawaii. Many returned with wealth and ideas acquired abroad. As a result, the Cantonese and their neighbors in the surrounding territory became aware of new concepts and the actualities of the outside world long before the rest of China began to doubt the superiority of the Chinese state and way of life.[22]

The coastal area of Kwangtung was also the first place in China to experience the adverse effects of the western penetration. The introduction of opium into the country by the British at the beginning of the nineteenth century turned China's trade from a favorable to an unfavorable

22. H. F. MacNair, China in Revolution: An Analysis of Politics and Militarism Under the Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 6-7.

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balance. In its wake came a rise in prices. The inflation hit hardest at the peasants and other poor classes in the vicinity of Canton, i.e., in eastern Kwangsi and southern Kwangtung.[23] Their livelihood was further reduced when English manufactured goods began to displace the handicraft industry on which the Chinese peasant relied for a necessary supplement to his farm income. The hardships, discontents, and resentments against the ruling power were further intensified by drought and famine. The result was the Taiping Rebellion.

C. The Taiping Rebellion

The rebellion started in Kwangsi just before the middle of the nineteenth century as disorganized pillaging and robbing by secret societies and bandit gangs.[24] These traditional outlets for social discontent were often indistinguishable one from the other and frequently became the nuclei for movements seeking political power. At the same time, numbers of Canton's businessmen and gentry became disgusted with Manchu corruption

23. H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. I, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1910, pp. 173-92. Also see Teng Ssu-yü, New Light on the History of the Taiping Rebellion, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. 43-47, which includes an analysis by Tseng Kuo-fan of the causes of unrest in 1852.

24. Teng, op. cit., p. 48.

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and weakness in resisting foreign encroachment. They moved into adjoining Kwangsi and helped give the unorganized bandit and secret society groups cohesion and a goal -- the establishment of a new regime and social order. From Canton's lower class, numbers of unemployed migrated to Kwangsi to swell the essentially peasant ranks of the rebels.[25]

The head of this movement, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, was a native of Kwangtung. He had met repeated failure in the official examinations, but had acquired a smattering of Christianity and western socio-economic reformism in Canton. Convinced in a dream that he was the brother of Jesus, Hung fused his limited knowledge of those western secular and religious concepts with traditional Chinese ideas to evolve a reform program that became the ideology of the Taipings. With the ambition of becoming emperor, Hung led the rebels north in 1850 to overrun most of China and threaten the existence of the throne for fifteen years.[26]

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25. Ibid., p. 59.

26. On the Taiping Rebellion, see Teng, op. cit.; G. E. Taylor, "The Taiping Rebellion: Its Economic Background and Social Theory," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Peiping [Peking], January, 1933, pp. 345-614; and Morse, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 438-71; Vol. II, pp. 64-110.

been visiting the minority communities in Southwest China, and has adapted some of the dances of the minority peoples for performance in Peking, in other Chinese cities, and abroad. Among those performed are a flute dance, a courtship dance, and a wedding dance of the Miao people, "Happy Sun," a tap dance, "Good Harvest," a traditional dance performed by Tibetans in Southwest China around the family cooking stove, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and the "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26] 535

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring ballerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[27] 535 177

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, which is a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[28] with its headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples into her dances. Her training, however, is Western. 535 658

F. Music

Appreciation of Western classical music has 533

26. Ibid., July 1954.
27. Ibid., July 1954.
28. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

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ments of metal, stone, earth or porcelain, leather, silk or string, melon or wind, bamboo and wood. I am not enough of a musician to go into detail about them, or to discuss the tunes and chants, some of which are very beautiful, especially those used at the sacrifices to Confucius. Harmony does not seem to have been developed by the Chinese, but there is a certain amount of it, and there is considerable antiphonal chanting. At the state sacrifices there is posturing, called T'iao Wu, a word which is usually translated as dancing, but it bears about as much likeness to what we mean by that word as do the motions of a Christian priest before his altar.

The ritual differs somewhat in different kinds of temples and will be described separately, but a few words may be said about the offerings in general. There is a good deal of variety, of course, but the chief objects presented to the gods or spirits are the following :

Paper money, which is burnt for the use of the dead, but is never offered to gods.

Ch'i Kan, which are poles with oblong wooden frames fastened to one end, while the other is stuck in the ground. They are painted red and are always presented in pairs. I have always found them as thank offerings to an Earth-God, placed before his shrine, and they are more numerous in the country than in the city.

Incense ; this, candles and oil are sold at the temples, and the monks usually charge a small incense fee of about a copper to all worshippers.

Candles ; I have never seen any but red candles offered in temples. They vary in height from a few inches to several feet and in temples to gods there may be any number. Sometimes gilt characters are written on them, and some have dragons and other figures in relief.

Oil for " Everlasting Lamps " ; for reading, modern lamps sold by the Standard Oil Company are used even in temples, but for religious use on altars the old copper dishes with wicks resting against the sides are still correct. Often many of these are placed on one stand.

Embroidered curtains which are hung before the god's image, and almost any article of clothing, hats, robes and shoes.

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(possibly Siam), who resigned his throne, came to China as a monk about 760, and lived on the mountain. He and at least one other later monk of Chiu Hua are regarded as incarnations of the Bodhisattva (JOHNSTON, p. 211).

In 719 A. D. a Hindu, Amogha Vajra, reached China, and shortly achieved a great reputation at the court in Ch'ang An (EITEL, p. 8, and JOHNSTON, p. 369). He is said to have instituted the festival called Feeding the Hungry Ghosts (Yu Lan Huei, or Yen K'ou), which was fully elaborated about fifty years after Amogha's death. Dr. Reichelt, of Nanking, is of the opinion that Amogha adapted the custom from the masses for the dead said by the Nestorians who then flourished in Ch'ang An. The Ullambana Sutra, which had been translated into Chinese several centuries before, was used in the service. Yu Lan is a transliteration of the Sanscrit Ulamba, to endure great anguish, and Yen K'ou means to fill the hungry mouths. The custom is said to have been started by Sakyamuni, who directed his disciple Maudgalyayana to do it, but Eitel (p. 155), says that this story is a forgery. The Yu Lan Huei is peculiarly associated with Ti Tsang, and the festival is said to last from the 15th of the 7th month to the 30th, which is the birthday of Ti Tsang. The Li Chi indicates that in ancient China wandering spirits were propiated at this season.

The original hungry ghosts were the Hindu Pretas (MONIER WILLIAMS, *Buddhism*, p. 219), but in China they are the spirits of men who have no descendants to woship them, or who have not been buried. Altars to these wandering spirits are mentioned in the classics. The festival includes the reading of the Ti Tsang Sutra by a monk impersonating the Bodhisattva, the sprinkling of grains of rice and water for the ghosts to eat and drink, and the placing of lighted lanterns on the water. When the light is finally extinguished, it is said a water spirit has swallowed it, and been destroyed.

Buddhism has always adopted features of the religions of countries into which it has been introduced, such as the Nat worship of Burmah, and by doing so has strengthened its hold upon the people. So it has been in China. My own opinion is that the cult of Kuanyin owes its popularity largely to

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the deliberate adoption to a Buddhist divinity of the functions of the Chinese goddess who gave sons (Sung Tzi Liang Liang), thus appealing to one of the chief desires of all Chinese. And the prominence of Ti Tsang is due to a similar attraction, for the most fundamental Chinese virtue is filial piety, which includes the worship of ancestors, and the duty of descendants toward them. This duty is accomplished in an attractive way through the Yu Lan Huei. The custom also prevents injury from these spirits.

The authorities I have quoted consider the festival to be of Buddhist origin, but Clennell *(Historical Development of Religion in China*, p. 105), says that the custom is indigenous and merely adopted by the early Buddhists. I am inclined to agree with him. The sacrifices to wandering spirits are mentioned in the Li Chi. The festival is not held in Buddhist temples, but in homes, where tables bearing incense, candles, fruit and tea are placed in the main entrances. The monks are very active saying masses in public halls, for which they are well paid by philanthropic organizations, but the temples themselves are dark. This is especialy noticeable at the Yin Chiang Tzi, which would be an admirable scene for the rite because it fronts on the river. When this absence of ceremony in the temples is combined with the great hold the observance has on all Chinese, most of whom do not go into a Buddhist temple once a year, that in the homes it is not accompanied by any Buddhist practice nor does it require the presence of monks, and that when the monks do go out, it is not to homes, but to public halls where they are invited by corporations, it seems reasonable to suppose that this is another instance where Buddhism has fastened upon some native custom it did not originate, and made the practice its own. However, it is not a matter upon which to be dogmatic. The Hindu custom is also a home rite.

The Yu Lan Huei is the most beautiful of Chinese festivals, and in 1923 I was privileged to see it under particularly favorable circumstances. The cities along the Yangtze River have a number of life saving organizations (Chiu Sen Chu), which provide public ferries, save drowning men when possible, rescue their bodies for burial when nothing else can be done, distribute coffins and medicine to the poor, and engage in other admirable charities.

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other's temples, and a Confucian official may call in both to say masses for his dead. Such a situation calls for the consideration of the various cults separately, rather than an attempt to treat them as component parts of a well organized whole. The indigenous religions of the Chinese are not like Muhammedanism and Christianity, and cannot be studied as if they were articulated systems.

The Chinese have never enjoyed the isolation with which they have often been credited. Yule has given the records of the intercourse between China and Europe before modern times, and Bretschneider has also studied the question. In the thirty-seven years from 1270 to 1307 alone, fourteen embassies from the Mongols to various countries in Europe are known, the last of which was received by Edward II of England (CLENNELL, p. 165.) The stories of the Buddhist pilgrims to India are well known, and the discoveries made by Stein, Pelliot and others in the buried cities of the Taklamahan and Gobi deserts. As a matter of fact, there have been few periods in Chinese history when ideas from abroad were not filtering into the Middle Kingdom.

There is not much doubt that most of these exterior influences came from the north or northwest, and I do not think there is evidence for relatively important results in China from intercourse with the Malay, Mon-Khmer, Burmese and other races to the south. Buddhist influence came by both roads, and there was some commerce with the Straits, Ceylon and the Arabs. But every Chinese dynasty has had to fight against the hordes of the desert, as the Great Wall bears witness, and the defense was not always successful, for time and again the inhabitants of Mongolia and Manchuria have set up their dynasties within the empire. Ch'in, which triumphed under the First Emperor, was a semi-barbarian state, and the Toba Tartars, the Kitans, Hsi Hsia, the Golden Tartars, the Mongols and the Manchus show the power of the north. The men of Ankor, Burma and Java never attempted such feats, and the few sporadic efforts of the Japanese upon Corea were repulsed. It is from the north and northwest that foreign pressure has come upon China, until the last century.

And with the armies and merchants there must have come ideas, reli-

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gions and cults. In the disorder that followed the Hans and during the T'ang dynasty (618-907), many foreign influences drifted into China. It was the period of the Buddhist pilgrims, of the coming of the Nestorians and the Muhammedans, a time of great mingling of faiths, whose history does not seem to have adequately studied by Europeans. The Sung and Yuen dynasties which followed also saw great developments in religion, such as the metamorphosis of Kuanyin and the vicisitudes of Taoism. Many of the most characteristic features of Chinese religion began during these centuries. For instance, the burning of paper money and imitation valuables instead of burying real wealth in the graves began shortly before the T'angs (DE GROOT, Bk. I, p. 712). Under the Sungs the dead were burned, a most striking change from ancient custom (YULE, MARCO POLO, Index, *Cremation*).

But what interests us most at present was the growth of certain cults, not new, but largely made over and developed, which have had great influence upon Chinese religion ever since. In this last section, then, I will give some documents, mostly taken from the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, or from inscriptions and temple histories, concerning a few of these cults. I believe that they may show foreign influence and that the records of the T'angs and Sungs might shed much light upon them, and upon the history of Chinese religion generally.

The gods of these cults often receive recognition from the state, on the old principle, already mentioned, that local officials should worship local gods, and on recommendation by the local authorities these gods are rewarded by the central government, or punished if they do not produce desired results. Chavannes (*le T'ai Chan*, p. 385), says that the T'ang emperors were the first to give princely titles to these gods. The temples naturally record favorable instances, but they are not the only cases of official notice. A year or so ago, at Nanling Hsien during a drought, a god was publicly tried by the magistrate for neglect of duty, condemned, left in the hot sun to see how he liked it himself, and finally, after enduring every kind of insult, was broken in pieces. Many similar instances will occur to students of religion. No Chinese would dream of doing such a thing to the tablet of Confucius, or to

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Fortunae Populi Romani, and the Dea Roma (*Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, City-God).

The Chinese like to trace all their institutions back to the days of Yao, Shun and Yu, and attempt to find the worship of the City-God in the most ancient times. Mr. Feng Han Yi, the librarian of the University of Amoy, has sent me a number of selections from a book in his possession called the Ch'un Ming Meng Yu Lu, concerning the City-God. I will give a translation of them at the end of this section. In characteristic fashion, the author discovers the cult flourishing in the earliest days, but according to Mr. Feng, the effort rests on a questionable interpretation of ambiguous characters in the Li Ki and the Ch'un Ch'iu. What is quite evident from these records is that the terms Ch'eng Huang do not occur in the classics, and that no authentic record of the cult is found until after the Three Kingdoms (265). The first account of one of these gods appears to have been written about the time of the K'ai Yuen period of the T'ang dynasty (742), by a man named Li Yang Ping, and other references show the cult to have been prevalent at that time. The first temple is said to have been built in Wuhu, in the province of Anhui, about 230, although it is not mentioned in the history of Wu. None of these records give any intimations of foreign influence.

Chinese scholars in Anking whom I have questioned think that the god is descended from the Hsieh Chi or Gods of the Land and Grain, frequently mentioned in the classics, and there does seem to be a connection between the City-God and the Earth Gods, for there is an image called the King of the Earth Gods (T'u Ti Wang), in the Ch'en Huang Miao. But the Hsieh Chi were probably local divinities of the country, very much like the Earth Gods of the present. The character Hsieh, composed of earth and to divine, seems to confirm this. However, this view may be correct.

There are still other elements in the cult. The painting of the faces of men acting as attendents of the god may be Hindu, or Tibetan, although the Tibetans use masks. Wang Kuo Wei, a Chinese authority on the drama, says that the first recorded instance of masks in China was subsequent to the Han dynasty. Besides this, the ten hells seen in the courtyard of every

1 [Errata: should be Chi. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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City-God temple are undoubtedly Buddhist, and Taoist fancy has woven the god into its romances, as in the story of the god's banishment, which I will give shortly. The Horse-Face and Ox-Head servants are Buddhist.

There are two city-god temples in Anking, devoted to the Fu and Hsien gods, for the Chinese cult, like the Grecian, is naturally connected with the state and follows its political divisions. The only difference I can find between the temples, other than the districts each god represents, is that the Fu temple is built on land given by the Huang family, who take care of the premises and get what income there is from the sale of oil, incense and candles, while the Hsien temple is in charge of a solitary Buddhist monk. It is the Fu Temple I will describe.

The whole enclosure is about 250 feet long by 100 feet wide, and faces west because it fronts on a north and south street. Two life size stone lions flank the entrance, and on the other side of the street is a large spirit wall. There is a big courtyard surrounded by buildings, with the main hall at the east end, opposite the gate. At the sides of the doorway are two rooms, a public reading room on the north and a guest hall on the south, while above the entrance, facing the court, is a stage on which theatricals were formerly given " To amuse the god ".

Wang. Kuo Wei thinks that the Chinese theater developed from the religious dances of the ancient exorcists called Wu. Other Chinese authorities place the beginnings of the Chinese drama in the later T'ang period, about 720, though perhaps the greatest, Ma Tuan Lin, who died about 1300, dates them as early as 581 (*Encyl. of Religion and Ethics*, Drama, Chinese). The Yin and Yang symbol is conspicuous in the center of the stage, and there are decorations of gilded wooden dragons.

The cloisters at the sides of the court are occupied by the ten hells of Yenlo, five on a side, with a wooden lattice before them through which one may look and be edified. These hells have often been described by foreigners, and perhaps the best account is that of Giles in " Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio ". They include the hill of knives, the mortar, the snakes, the slicing, and other tortures of the damned, with small human figures in